1:Williams E,G-5 (1923-1925) 1930
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mony, the several parties make their appearance each following in single file behind its leader, a cry will go up, 'Here come the people, the *Tekaboka*, of Embuja, of Ehari, of Andari!'—whoever the big man may be. So in the Aiga language there is a word *ambotani*, which embraces all a man's junior relatives; and thus a number of more or less unimportant individuals may be known to others as the juniors of a certain big man and identified by his name.

There is no well-defined chieftainship among the Orokaiva, but merely a recognized ascendancy of the old men. The leader and ruler of any clan is the eldest of its men, provided he is not so old as to be incompetent, and provided always that his personality is equal to his position. It is consequently difficult to find a word which would correspond with our idea of 'chief', and unsatisfactory to use the English word 'chief', as too pretentious for even the most important of clan leaders. The Orokaiva expressions as far as I know them are *embo-be* (a proper man), and *embo-peni*, *embo-pajirari*, *embo-paitukiari*, and *embo-siakabada* (all of which mean no more than 'big or important man'); and these terms may be used of men of importance who cannot claim to be actually leaders. There are two other terms, however, which seem to possess a more specific application: they are *embo-javoari* and *embo-penjavo*. The first appears to mean 'the man who gives the name' (*javo*), and the second is no doubt a contraction of *embo-peni-javo* (man—big—name). The implication is that the real chief is the man who gives his name to his followers, i.e. the man by whose name they are collectively known.

It is readily understood how in this simple patriarchal organization the group may take its collective name from the leader or patriarch. Further, one may be surprised on asking who is the *embo-javoari* of a certain group, to be given the name of a man who is dead. Chieftainship among the Orokaiva is so rudimentary that a successor may not yet, so to speak, have taken shape. But that does not matter. The group is content to be known as the followers of the dead man.

All this leads to the conclusion (if it be not too obvious

2: Williams E, G-5 (1923-1925) 1928
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bears him a personal grudge and merely wishes to vent his spite.

It is not always an enemy who receives the blame. Any piece of circumstantial evidence may be sufficient to implicate the innocent, and especially so if he be an old man; for there is apparently a kind of *mana* about old age which argues a special fitness for sorcery. To sum up, one may say that, while it is not true that misfortune, sickness, and death are invariably ascribed to sorcery, the suspicion of it is nevertheless extremely common; and one might go so far as to say that almost every death is ascribed to sorcery in the opinion of some one or other.

An example will show how baseless the suspicion may be. In the village of Aurida on the Opi was to be seen a miniature house, not much larger than that which commonly accommodates a pet cockatoo or hornbill. It contained as perpetual inmate a little girl whose limbs were so twisted as to be quite useless. Some years back, as she said herself, she used to play with the other children until this disease overtook her and slowly turned her into a cripple. As a very little child she had been the great pet of her old *nobo*, or maternal uncle, who had been in the habit of dandling her in his lap. The old man had died before I heard of this case. He had never hinted at making magic against the child, and maybe he was never openly accused of doing so, but there was no doubt in the village that he had been the cause of the terrible malady which eventually ended in her death. No real reason could be found, but the fact that she was so often in his arms was enough cause for suspicion which in time turned to certainty.

The same village provided a somewhat amusing incident which serves to show the ramifications of evil which may arise from a false accusation. One Josiva of a neighbouring village brought a charge of sorcery against an old man of Aurida. He evidently wished to make a court case of it, for he enlisted the aid of three village con-

3: Reay E-4, 5 (1951) 1953 OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

much as the education of the young is a conscious activity of adults, the internalization of norms and ideal patterns involves the manipulation of sanctions. What is sanctioned in childhood is the kind of behaviour required in adult life, plus a range of permitted behaviour, tolerated in youth, which diminishes as the individual grows older. So, secondly, we should be able to find within the field of education *a model of the kind of sanctions which circumscribe adult behaviour. I.e.*, if shame is a dominant sanction in adult life, it would not be surprising to find parents and other educators shaming the recalcitrant child and, at an earlier stage, ensuring that the individual will become sensitive to shame.

Thirdly, it is possible to view education as *authority in action*. It is important to know who educates, and what kinds of authority are exercised during the educative process. In a relatively stable society, we should expect some continuity between these kinds of authority and the kinds of authority used in the workaday and political activities of adults.

There are five stages in the Orokaiva life cycle. The last two—adult person (*embo*, or female *pamone*) and aged adult (*embo evovo* or *pamone evovo*) need not concern us here. It is necessary, however, to consider the first three: the baby (*meni orosati*), the little child (*meni isapa*) and the big boy or girl (*meni dombo*), in some detail, and then to examine the initiation ceremony which marks the transition from *meni dombo* to adult *embo* or *pamone*.

Orokaiva Childhood

An Orokaiva baby, from birth to the time he can walk, is known as *meni orosati*. He lives in a string bag which his mother carries wherever she goes. As the mother jogs along to the gardens, the pliant string bag is pulled taut by the baby's weight, and the characteristic pre-natal position is induced. When she gets to the gardens, she puts the string bag on some leaves on the ground, or hangs it from the branch of a tree, and goes about her digging and weeding. If the baby cries, demonstrating that he is hungry, she will come over to him, take him out of the string bag, and sit down on the ground to feed him. She pushes her nipple into his mouth, continues talking to the other woman, and apparently forgets the baby until he relaxes against her in sleep. Then she puts the baby back into the string bag. If the baby should cry when he is obviously not hungry, the mother gives him no more attention that a single enquiring glance, but if he continues to show signs of pain or sickness she consults one of the old women about him. This is done casually, whenever she happens to meet one of the old women; it is not judged to be urgent. By our standards, the Orokaiva mother seems to take very little interest in her baby. He is a nuisance because he hampers her movements. She fondles him very rarely, and frequently she leaves him for short periods in the care of older siblings.

My information concerning the Orokaiva attitude towards teething (which occurs well before weaning) is fragmentary. As soon as their teeth begin to appear, children are given solid foods to chew. The few babies I saw biting their mothers' breasts during nursing were quickly cuffed and scolded. One mother giggled, as the